

This is not a new effort. It was not invented by the Clinton Administration. American presidents have sought for nearly forty years to negotiate a treaty that prohibits nuclear testing.

President Eisenhower initially noted its importance in his State of the Union address in January of 1960 when he said that "looking to a controlled ban on nuclear testing" could be the means of ending the "calamitous cycle . . . which, if unchecked, could spiral into nuclear disaster."

President Kennedy later reaffirmed the United States' commitment to such a treaty in a 1963 commencement address at American University, stating that "the conclusion of such a treaty [that ended nuclear testing] would check the spiraling arms race in one of its most dangerous areas. . . . [Furthermore,] it would increase our security [and] it would decrease the prospects of war." Today, this treaty has the strong support of members from both parties.

If the Senate does not consent to the ratification of this treaty before the September 24, 1999, deadline, the United States will not be able to participate in decisions regarding the future of the treaty. Under the terms of Article XIV of the CTBT, a conference of the countries that have ratified can be convened on the third anniversary of the treaty's opening for signature to determine how to "accelerate the ratification process in order to facilitate the [treaty's] early entry into force." Although both countries that have and have not ratified the treaty before the date of this conference may attend, the non-member countries of the treaty are only invited as observers and may not participate.

The United States is one of the 44 named countries that is required to sign and ratify the treaty before it can "enter into force". If the United States does not ratify this treaty, we are preventing the CTBT's implementation. The United States must ratify this treaty so that it can continue its leadership role in arms control. We should not be the holdout country that threatens the CTBT's entry into force. By demonstrating our commitment to halting nuclear testing, the United States creates an environment that encourages other countries to ratify the treaty.

The threat of rogue nations developing nuclear weapons is real and urgent. The July 1999 Deutch Commission's Report, entitled "Combating Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction," cites several examples: in the spring of 1998, India and Pakistan conducted nuclear tests, worsening instability on the subcontinent; during the recent crisis in Kashmir, a nuclear war in South Asia looked possible for the first time; and countries in the Middle East and East Asia attempted to acquire weapons of mass destruction. The CTBT prevents other nations

who ratify it from conducting nuclear tests. It helps rein in rogue nations now and in the future that attempt to acquire and develop weapons of mass destruction.

Finally, this is a treaty that the American people want. Recent polls show that 82 percent of Americans support ratification of the CTBT. They know that ending nuclear explosions is a better way to protect the United States against nuclear weapons threats.

I urge the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to hold hearings on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty so that we may take action on this agreement before it is too late. We cannot allow the United States to be locked out of its rightful leadership role at the September review conference on this treaty. This treaty is the most effective step that we can take to enhance international security and to maintain nuclear safety.

TRIBUTE TO SPECIALIST T. BRUCE CLUFF

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, a memorial service was held on Monday in Ft. Bliss, Texas, to honor five American men and women who lost their lives last week in the service of this country. On July 23, an Army airplane was reported missing over Colombia with five U.S. military personnel and two Colombians on board. The wreckage was located later in the week and days later, the Department of Defense confirmed the deaths of those on board.

Coffins draped with the Stars and Stripes left Bogota, and were flown to Ft. Bliss Texas, a wrenching reminder of the continued sacrifice made by American men and women in the Armed Forces and of course their families.

One of the soldiers killed in the crash was Private First Class T. Bruce Cluff, a former resident of the city of Washington in my home state of Utah. Private Cluff served as one of 300 soldiers in a Battalion whose uniforms bear a crest that states "Silently We Defend."

Mr. President, because we cannot, and should not, allow the untimely loss of those in uniform to go unnoticed, I rise today to pay tribute to Private T. Bruce Cluff, a soldier killed in the line of duty; a soldier who received the Army Good Conduct Medal; a soldier who volunteered to risk his life for the protection of our nation and its defense against aggressors.

T. Bruce Cluff was born in Mesa, Arizona, and as a member of the Boy Scouts of America, attained the rank of Eagle Scout at the age of 13. He graduated from Whitehorse High School in 1992, and served a two year mission for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the state of Montana. Private Cluff attended Dixie College in Utah and worked as a Computer Aided Draftsman before enlisting

in the Army in 1997. He completed basic training at Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri and Advanced Individual Training (AIT) at Fort Huachuca, Arizona.

In mourning Cluff's death and announcing his posthumous promotion to the rank of specialist, a statement from the Army read, "His commander and NCO supervisors regarded his skills—as superlative. His can-do attitude and enthusiasm embodied the motto of his platoon, which reads, 'Excellence—Nothing Else is Acceptable.'"

As a reminder to those of use who didn't know any of the soldiers personally, I share writings from George Washington which I believe shed light on a soldier's quiet commitment, and perhaps a tendency to forget what is asked of our men and women in uniform. The winter of 1777 was a bleak time in our nation's military history. George Washington, after his defeat at the Brandywine, established Winter Headquarters at Valley Forge. The soldiers were in rags, were sick and starving. Criticism of Washington from the Congress was loud, and spreading to the public.

On December 23, General Washington wrote to the Continental Congress, explaining that "no less than 2,898 men now in camp are unfit for duty, because they are barefoot and otherwise naked."

He then addresses the criticism, "But what makes this matter still more extraordinary in my eye is, that these very gentlemen—who were well apprised of the nakedness of our troops—should think a winter's campaign, and the covering of these States [New Jersey and Pennsylvania] from the invasion of an enemy, so easy and practicable a business. I can assure those gentlemen, that it is a much easier and less distressing thing to draw remonstrances in a comfortable room by a good fireside, than to occupy a cold, bleak hill, and sleep under frost and snow, without clothes or blankets."

Those of us who are in a 'comfortable room by a good fireside,' should be reminded that the missions of the military are not comfortable nor are they easy. Even in peacetime, America has troops stationed all over the world, engaged in all manner of missions, and regrettably, none without threat.

There will be few who know about the Cluffs' loss. Specialist Cluff, to use his new rank, has not had his picture on the cover of any magazine. His life hasn't been the subject of wide media attention. However, his young wife who is expecting their third child, and his remaining two children, have lost a husband and young father. His siblings have lost a brother and his parents have lost a son. This country has lost a good soldier. It mourns with his family and honors his memory.

May the Cluffs be comforted in their time of grief. As we remember them

and ask God to watch over them and bring them solace, may we also remember the family members of the other military personnel who, with Specialist Cluff, made the ultimate sacrifice in service to our country.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, let me say I was very moved by the remarks of the Senator from Utah. I am sure every Member of the Senate shares in expressing our sympathy for the men who were killed in that air crash. Certainly the Senator has done the Specialist and other Members very proud in his comments before the Senate.

HOLD ON THE NOMINATION OF RICHARD HOLBROOKE

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, on June 24 I announced that I had placed a hold on the nomination of Mr. Richard Holbrooke to be the new U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations. At that time, I had indicated that it was not a personal dispute with Mr. Holbrooke, but that it was a signal to the State Department. The Department has been mistreating a whistle blower, Ms. Linda Shenwick. She had made protected financial mismanagement disclosures to Congress. Her disclosures led to the creation of an Inspector General at the U.N., as well as other management reforms and statutory requirements.

My interest in this matter is simple. Congress cannot function as an institution if government employees cannot communicate with Congress about wrongdoing. And the executive branch should not be allowed to shoot the messenger with impunity. I am simply trying to get the two parties to return to the negotiating table, where they had been up to as recently as two months ago, and arrive at a mutually agreed-upon new job for Ms. Shenwick.

Accordingly, I have placed a hold on three new nominees from the State Department. They are the following: A. Peter Burleigh as Ambassador to the Philippines; Carl Spielvogel as Ambassador to the Slovak Republic; and, J. Richard Fredericks as Ambassador to Switzerland.

In addition to these new holds, I have taken additional steps which I choose not to disclose at this time. They are designed to increase my and other interested colleagues' ability to insist that Ms. Shenwick be treated fairly. Several of my colleagues have indicated a desire to assist me on my further endeavors.

My interest, as I said, was not with Mr. Holbrooke. I intend to vote for him. My interest is, and has been from the beginning, in making sure the process for Ms. Shenwick remains fair. It became evident to me that the Secretary of State was not out of sorts

with the hold-up of the Holbrooke nomination. Yet the hold accomplished some progress.

In the first place, the Department had long ignored a letter signed by nine United States Senators in October of last year, raising our concerns about its mistreatment of Ms. Shenwick. The Department did not even respond until June 30 of this year—eight months later. Since then, we have corresponded again, and I met with State Department attorneys through the good offices of my friend from Virginia, Senator Warner.

I also met with Administration officials and have engaged in useful dialogue. It has resulted in a more highly sensitized Administration as to the need for effective communications with the State Department to ensure fair treatment for Ms. Shenwick. These communications have produced one small yet positive step toward ensuring the fairest possible process.

In the meantime, I have chosen to increase my leverage by putting the holds on these three nominees. At the same time, I will release my hold on Mr. Holbrooke, satisfied that I have greater leverage, and the Administration's heightened awareness and assurances of a fair process.

AMBASSADOR RICHARD HOLBROOKE

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I have lost track of how long it has been since the President nominated Ambassador Richard Holbrooke to be the United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations.

What I do know is that in the intervening months we have fought a war in Kosovo that I supported, but which harmed our relations with Russia and China.

We have watched as tens of thousands of students demonstrated in the streets of Tehran; seen further signs that North Korea is preparing to test a long-range missile that could reach our shores; entered a new and hopeful period in the Middle East peace process; watched the Northern Ireland peace process reach a dead end once again; and seen India and Pakistan, armed with nuclear weapons and the missiles to deliver them, clash over Kashmir. All of this has occurred while Ambassador Holbrooke has been waiting to be confirmed.

So, Mr. President, it is possible for the United States to carry on without a UN ambassador. We have managed to do that. The world has not come to an end, although not a day has passed without a crisis that we have an interest in. But does anyone here think it is a sensible way for the world's only superpower to conduct itself?

Every day, we face threats to our security interests, our economic interest, that affect the health and welfare of

the American people, and which require the intensive attention and intervention of skilled diplomats. Aside from the Secretary of State, there is no diplomatic position more important than our UN Ambassador.

Yet month after month after month, we have seen this nomination delayed by the Majority party. First it was due to allegations of financial irregularities, which Ambassador Holbrooke resolved months ago. Months had already been lost waiting for a hearing.

Then, shortly after the Majority Leader said the Senate would vote on his nomination, a hold was placed on it and more weeks have passed without a vote being scheduled—a vote that is certain to confirm Ambassador Holbrooke overwhelmingly. In fact, he would have been confirmed easily months ago, if the Senate had been permitted to vote.

This is the last week before the August recess. There is absolutely no justification whatsoever for delaying this further. There are no political points to be made here. On the contrary, we hurt ourselves each day that we are without a UN Ambassador. It is, frankly, ridiculous to be acting as if this position can remain vacant for month after month, without weakening our influence around the world.

So let us hope this is the week that Ambassador Holbrooke will be confirmed, and that he can get started on the difficult job that we, the American people and the President, need him to do.

THE VERY BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, at the close of business yesterday, Tuesday, August 3, 1999, the Federal debt stood at \$5,613,220,970,175.47 (Five trillion, six hundred thirteen billion, two hundred twenty million, nine hundred seventy thousand, one hundred seventy-five dollars and forty-seven cents).

One year ago, August 3, 1998, the Federal debt stood at \$5,505,964,000,000 (Five trillion, five hundred fifty billion, nine hundred sixty-four million).

Five years ago, August 3, 1994, the Federal debt stood at \$4,640,190,000,000 (Four trillion, six hundred forty billion, one hundred ninety million).

Ten years ago, August 3, 1989, the Federal debt stood at \$2,811,435,000,000 (Two trillion, eight hundred fifty billion, four hundred thirty-five million).

Fifteen years ago, August 3, 1984, the Federal debt stood at \$1,557,032,000,000 (One trillion, five hundred fifty-seven billion, thirty-two million) which reflects a debt increase of more than \$4 trillion—\$4,056,188,970,175.47 (Four trillion, fifty-six billion, one hundred eighty-eight million, nine hundred seventy thousand, one hundred seventy-five dollars and forty-seven cents) during the past 15 years.